

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00  
NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-12 TRSE-00  
EB-08 AID-05 DOE-11 SOE-02 HA-05 NRC-05 DLOS-09  
OES-07 /178 W

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R 140930Z MAR 78

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3823  
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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TAGS: PEPR, SP

SUBJECT: MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH BY FOREIGN MINISTER

1. SUMMARY: SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER MARCELINO OREJA  
GAVE A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS BEFORE THE SPANISH  
SENATE MARCH 9 IN RESPONSE TO AN EARLIER SENATE MOTION  
PUSHED BY THE OPPOSITION PSOE. ONE HIGHLIGHT WAS THE

PORTION ON NATO, THE GOVERNMENT'S FIRST COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT ON THE SUBJECT. SEPTEL IS TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF THAT PORTION, ALONG WITH COMMENTS. OTHER HIGH-LIGHTS ARE NOTED BELOW. IN SUM, THE SPEECH WAS A VIGOROUS DEFENSE OF GOS POLICY, WITH EMPHASIS ON THE SAHARA AND CANARIES PROBLEMS, AND ASIDE FROM THE NATO PORTION BROKE NO NEW GROUND. END SUMMARY.

2. EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF POPULAR REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF A DEMOCRACY, OREJA BEGAN WITH A REVIEW OF THE CURRENT CONDITION OF THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMMATIC DECLARATION OF JULY 1977 (77 MADRID 5282 NOTAL).

OREJA MADE IN THIS REGARD A SPECIAL BOW TO THE ROLE OF THE SENATE.

A. NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES: RELATIONS NORMALIZED WITH EE, MEXICO, ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, VARIOUS ASIAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES. RE ISRAEL, THE GOS "IS ALSO DISPOSED TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. SPAIN IS WAITING TO NEGOTIATE THIS NORMALITY FOLLOWING THE REGISTRATION OF AN INITIATION OF A SOLUTION TO THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. A PREMATURE GESTURE MIGHT NOT CONTRIBUTE TO DETENTE IN A MOMENT AS SENSITIVE AS THE CURRENT ONE. BUT LET IT BE CLEAR THAT THERE EXIST NEITHER PREJUDICES NOR MORTGAGES, BUT ONLY THE INDISPENSABLE APPRECIATION OF THE REALITY OF A PARTICULARLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONFLICTIVE REGION."

B. FAVORING PEACE AND SECURITY THROUGH DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT, DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND DEFINITION OF A JUST AND EQUITABLE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER: MADRID TO BE SITE OF NEXT CSCE MEETING, GOS SUPPORTING HUMAN RIGHTS AT UN, SPAIN HAS SEPARATED ITSELF FROM "SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES" IN NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT LDC'S.

C. TIGHTENING OF RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE IN SPIRIT OF CSCE: VARIOUS MOVES TO STRENGTHEN RELATIONS WITH EE COUNTRIES. RE USSR, OREJA NOTED HE HAS BEEN INVITED TO VISIT MOSCOW "BUT BEFORE THIS TRIP IT IS ESSENTIAL TO CONCLUDE CERTAIN AGREEMENTS AND NEGOTIATE CONVENTIONS THAT MAY BE SIGNED IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE YEAR."

D. APPLICATION FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO JOIN EC: APPLICATION SUBMITTED; NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE COMPLEX; SPAIN HAS CALLED FOR SOLUTION OF VARIOUS EC INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS. GOS HAS "MADE CLEAR SPAIN WILL NOT ACCEPT EITHER PRE-ADHESIONS OR ACCESSION BY STAGES." SPAIN HAS POLITICAL,

PROBLEM-SOLVING PURPOSE IN JOINING. GOS NEGOTIATING TRADE AGREEMENT WITH EFTA COUNTRIES. SPAIN NOW IN COUNCIL OF EUROPE, AND HAS SIGNED RELEVANT HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER CONVENTIONS.

E. SEARCH FOR NEW EXPRESSION OF FRIENDSHIP WITH PORTUGAL: NEW AGREEMENT OF COOPERATION AND FRIENDSHIP SIGNED.

F. WILL TO COOPERATE WITH ALL PEOPLES OF IBERO-AMERICA: VISITS OF KING, OTHER HIGH OFFICIALS; HISPANIC CULTURE INSTITUTE REPLACED BY IBERO-AMERICAN COOPERATION CENTER.

G. CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN DEFENSE SYSTEM THROUGH TREATY TIES WITH THE US: THREE MEETINGS OF US-SPANISH COUNCIL (WITH SECRETARY OF STATE), SPAIN CONTRIBUTING TO US DETERRENCE AND THUS TO WORLD STABILITY AND DETENTE.

NUCLEAR ARMS ELIMINATED FROM SPAIN, AND NUCLEAR SUBS TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FOLLOW. VARIOUS US RESTRICTIVE AND PROTECTIONIST TRADE

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3824

INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

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MEASURES SUPPRESSED, AND FISHING AGREEMENT SIGNED.

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H. (NATO PORTION - SEPTEL)

I. SEARCH FOR MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY THROUGH LITTORAL STATES' UNDERSTANDING, REGIONAL COOPERATION: VISITS BETWEEN SPAIN AND OTHERS, SPANISH PROPOSAL AT CSCE FOR MEDITERRANEAN WORKING GROUP. GOS POSITION: THAT FORCES PRESENT IN THE MED DIMINISH; CREATION OF COMPLEMENTARY LITTORAL STATES' SYSTEM PERMITTING GRADUAL REDUCTION OF NON-MED FORCES; IT IN INTERESTS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT PRINCIPLES OF GLOBAL STRATEGY NOT AUTOMATICALLY BE APPLIED TO THIS ZONE. (COMMENT: EUROPEAN DIPLOMATS HERE TOLD US THAT WHEN THEY QUERIED MFA ON THE POINT, OFFICIALS SAID THEY WERE NOT PROPOSING THAT THE US WITHDRAW.)

J. SUPPORT FOR THE JUST CAUSES OF THE ARAB NATIONS: SPANISH INSISTENCE ON NECESSITY OF RE-CONVENING GENEVA CONFERENCE. GOS POSITION: RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT OF EXISTENCE OF ALL COUNTRIES OF THE ZONE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS; ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED SINCE 1967;recognition of national rights of PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHAT ESTABLISHED IN PERTINENT UNGA RESOLUTIONS.

K. SEARCH FOR REINTEGRATION OF GIBRALTAR INTO SPANISH TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, ATTENDING TO THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS INVOLVED: NOVEMBER STRASBOURG TALKS, NEXT ROUND MARCH 15. GOS POSITION: PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY APPLIES; SPAIN ADHERING STRICTLY TO TREATY OF UTRECHT; GOS CONSCIOUS OF "GIBRALTARIAN IDENTITY," SEEKS COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION; GOS GOAL MUST BE REINTE-

GRATION OF GIBRALTAR; POSSIBILITY OF AUTONOMY; OLD  
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PROBLEM, WILL TAKE TIME.

L. MODIFICATION OF 1953 CONCORDAT WITH HOLY SEE: SOME AGREEMENTS ALREADY SIGNED; OTHER AREAS TO BE PURSUED, INCLUDING "DE-CONFESIONALIZATION," RELIGIOUS EDUCATION, AND MARRIAGE ISSUE. IN ANY CASE, FINAL AGREEMENTS WOULD BE SUBMITTED TO PARLIAMENT FOR RATIFICATION.

M. EMIGRATION: CONSTANT GOS EFFORT TO HELP SPANIARDS ABROAD: SOCIAL SECURITY, AGREEMENT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, ABSENTEE VOTING, OTHER RIGHTS.

3. NORTH AFRICA. SPANISH POLICY BASED ON EQUILIBRIUM AND COOPERATION, RESPECT FOR UN PRINCIPLES, AND (REGARDING SAHARA IN PARTICULAR) SELF-DETERMINATION. REJECTING SIMPLISTIC AND INACCURATE CHARGES (AND CITING A PSOE ACCUSATION), OREJA INSISTED SPAIN HAS FOLLOWED COHERENT POLICY, CONSISTENTLY LINING UP WITH UN (AND AFRICANS) ON SOUTH AFRICA, RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA PROBLEMS IN GENERAL.

4. OREJA WENT ON TO REVIEW HISTORICAL SPANISH ABSENCE FROM SUB-SAHARA AFRICA, AND TO LIST SYMPATHETICALLY LONG LIST OF POST-COLONIAL AFRICAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS LEADING TO SENSE OF FRUSTRATION WHICH OFTEN LED, THROUGH ILL-ORGANIZED REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, TO INADEQUATELY CONSIDERED RESOLUTIONS (AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO THE RECENT OAU ACTION ON THE CANARY ISLANDS). THE RESULTING SITUATION NEEDS AND DESERVES SERIOUS SPANISH ATTENTION, OREJA STRESSED.

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5. HAVING NOTED SPANISH IDEOLOGICAL COOPERATION WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES, OREJA TURNED TO EQUILIBRIUM, FOCUSING SPECIFICALLY ON THE SAHARA AND THE MAHGREG. REITERATING THAT SPAIN HAD NOT "HANDED OVER" SAHARAN SOVEREIGNTY, OREJA underscored SUPPORT FOR SAHARAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND FOR A BALANCED, NON-PARTISAN

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STANCE IN NORTH AFRICA. (THE LATTER POINT IS OF COURSE  
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A SLAP AT THE PRO-POLISARIO, PRO-ALGERIA STANCE OF THE  
PSOE.) AS FOR ACCUSATIONS OF NOT RECOGNIZING THE  
POLISARIO, OREJA CONTINUED, IT IS "NOT A NATIONAL  
LIBERATION MOVEMENT, NOR IS IT RECOGNIZED BY THE UN NOR

BY THE OAU, NOR IS IT THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE POPULATIONS OF THE SAHARA."

6. MENTIONING AGAIN THE CONSISTENCY OF PRINCIPLE OF THE GOS POSITION, OREJA ADDED THAT "THE UN FOR ONE THING AND THE POLISARIO ITSELF CONSIDER THAT THE OAU IS THE INDICATED FRAMEWORK FOR RESOLVING THE SAHARA CRISIS. THE HARD REALITY IS THAT, ONCE AGAIN, THE SPECIAL AFRICAN SUMMIT WHICH SHOULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE THIS VERY MONTH IN GABON WILL NOT BE HELD, SINCE ONLY SEVEN COUNTRIES OF THE 49 WHICH MAKE UP THE ORGANIZATION REPLIED FAVORABLY."

7. COMMENT: SEVERAL MFA OFFICIALS HAVE EXPRESSED TO US THEIR FEELING THAT THE SPEECH--A MAJOR EFFORT--WAS A GOOD ONE AND WENT OVER WELL. OPPOSITION PARTIES WILL BE ABLE TO RESPOND IN THE SAME FORUM IN THE SENATE PLENARY MEETING SET FOR EARLY APRIL. COPY OF FULL TEXT BEING POUCHEO EUR/WE. STABLER

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## Message Attributes

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**Draft Date:** 14 mar 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
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**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**Subject:** MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH BY FOREIGN MINISTER  
**TAGS:** PEPR, SP, (OREJA, MARCELINO)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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